

Message Text

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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 2369

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TAGS: PEPR, TZ, US, FR

SUBJ: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2339

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO PRESIDENT CARTER, DATED JUNE 1, 1978. IT WAS DELIVERED FROM ARUSHA TO DAR ES SALAAM LATE JUNE 2 AND DELIVERED TO THE EMBASSY EARLY JUNE 3. TANGOV SAYS ORIGINAL WILL BE TRANSMITTED "THROUGH OUR NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS".

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR PRESIDENT CARTER, THIS MORNING I TALKED
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WITH MR. WALKER, THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRES IN THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY, WHO WAS KIND ENOUGH TO COME TO ARUSHA AT MY REQUEST. I EXPRESSED TO HIM MY WORRY ABOUT REPORTS THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS PROPOSING TO MEET IN PARIS NEXT WEEK WITH A NUMBER OF WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF AFRICAN SECURITY AND THE SO-CALLED PENETRATION OF AFRICA BY THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. MR. WALKER TOLD ME THAT THIS QUESTION IS NOT ON THE AGENDA FOR THE PARIS MEETING, BUT IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE WILL BE RAISED BY SOME COUNTRIES

AT THE GATHERING CALLED TO DISCUSS THE ECONOMIC NEEDS
OF ZAIRE.

ALTHOUGH I AM CONFIDENT THAT MR. WALKER WILL
REPORT ACCURATELY ON OUR DISCUSSIONS, IT MAY BE USEFUL IF
I PUT IN WRITING SOMETHING OF MY CONCERN. FOR THIS
ALLEGED SOVIET PENETRATION OF AFRICA IS BEING TALKED ABOUT
A GREAT DEAL ON WESTERN RADIOS AND IN THE WESTERN PRESS;
AND THE IDEA OF SOME KIND OF AN 'AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE'
IS CERTAINLY BEING RAISED INFORMALLY AT GOVERNMENT LEVEL,
IF NOT FORMALLY PUT ON ANY AGENDA. I AM VERY WORRIED BY
THIS KIND OF TALK, THE MORE ESPECIALLY BECUASE THE MATTER
IS BEING RAISED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN
OPERATIONS IN KOLWEZI. THESE WERE OSTENSIBLY MOUNTED TO
RESCUE CITIZENS OF THOSE COUNTRIES FROM AN AREA OF CONFLICT;
THE OPERATIONS HAVE TURNED OUT, ONCE AGAIN, TO BE RESCUE
OPERATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE, AND ARE NOW BEING
JUSTIFIED ON THE GROUNDS OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT
IN THE FIGHTING THERE.

MR. PRESIDENT: FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS ZAIRE
HAS BEEN ALLOWING THE F.N.L.A. ANGOLANS TO ATTACK ACROSS
THEIR BORDER. IN RETALIATION ANGOLA HAS NOW TWICE ALLOWED
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THE SHABA GROUPS TO CROSS THE BORDER AND ATTACK IN ZAIRE.
BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE CLEARLY FACILITATED THE RESPECTIVE
ACTIONS; IT IS A MATTER OF OPINION TO WHAT EXTENT EITHER
HAVE ENCOURAGED THEM OR HAVE SIMPLY CEASED TO RESTRAIN THE
GROUPS CONCERNED. I BELIEVE THAT WITH ANGOLA IT IS A
CASE OF NO LONGER BLOCKING A GROUP WHICH HAS FOR YEARS
BEEN RESTRAINED FROM RE-ENTERING ZAIRE, AND WHICH WAS
ORIGINALLY ARMED BY THE PORTUGUESE FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.
FURTHER, AS I THINK I EXPLAINED LAST YEAR, PRESIDENT CASTRO
PERSONALLY ASSURED ME THAT CUBA HAD NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN
THE 1977 INCURSION, AND THAT ALTHOUGH HE UNDERSTOOD IT HE
THOUGHT IT WAS WRONG. I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT
THE CUBAN ATTITUDE, OR THEIR POLICY, HAS CHANGED. I
NOTICED ONE RADIO REPORT OF A U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT
THAT THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT CUBA WAS INVOLVED IN THE
1978 INCURSION. EVEN PRESIDENT MOBUTU HAS NOT BEEN ABLE
TO PRODUCE ANY EVIDENCE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF CUBA OR THE
SOVIET UNION IN THIS ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE ZAIRE
GOVERNMENT. YOUR GOVERNMENT KNOWS THIS WHOLE HISTORY,
AND EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS KNOW IT ALSO.

YET AS A RESULT OF KOLWEZI - OR AT LEAST FOLLOWING
AFTER IT - WE HAVE THIS TREMENDOUS FURORE ABOUT THE SOVIET
UNION AND CUBA WANTING TO TAKE OVER AFRICA. THE WEAPONS
OF THE SHABA GROUP (OR SOME OF THEIR WEAPON, FOR OTHER
REPORTS HAVE SAID THAT THEY WERE ALSO USING WESTERN GUNS)
ARE OFFERED AS EVIDENCE. NO ONE TALKS ABOUT WHERE F.L.N.A.

FORCES GET THEIR WEAPONS WITH WHICH TO ATTACK ANGOLA. YET
THE C.I.A. KNOWS THAT TOO.

MR. PRESIDENT, I DO NOT NEED TO ASSURE YOU THAT

I DO NOT WANT THE SOVIET UNION, OR CUBA, TO TAKE OVER AFRICA.
I DO NOT WANT ANYONE TO GOVERN AFRICA - DIRECTLY OR
INDIRECTLY - EXCEPT AFRICANS. BUT WITHOUT IN ANY WAY
COMMENTING ON THE POSSIBLE DESIRES OF THE SOVIET UNION OR
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OF CUBA, I THINK IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK AT THIS QUESTION ON
THE BASIS OF FACTS. CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE ARMED
FORCES PERSONNEL IN ANGOLA; WE ALL KNOW HOW THEY GOT
INVOLVED THERE, AND THE RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK ON
SOUTHERN ANGOLA SUGGESTS AT LEAST ONE REASON FOR THEIR
CONTINUED PRESENCE. CUBAN AND SOVIET ARMED FORCES ARE
ALSO IN ETHIOPIA; THE REASON THEY WERE INVITED IS WELL
KNOWN. APART FROM THESE TWO COUNTRIES THERE ARE NO CUBAN
OR SOVIET TROOPS IN AFRICA TO MY KNOWLEDGE, EXCEPT FOR A
HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WHO ARE TRAINING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE USE OF WEAPONS WHICH WE GET FROM
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES FOR THAT STRUGGLE. THAT IS THE EXTENT
OF THE 'PENETRATION' WHICH WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND
SOME PEOPLE IN U.S.A., ARE MAKING SO MUCH NOISE ABOUT.

THIS EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM MIGHT
BE MORE CONVINCING IF THE WESTERN POWERS GENERALLY SHOWED
EQUAL CONCERN ABOUT THE NUMBER OF FRENCH TROOPS STATIONED
IN AFRICA, AND FIGHTING IN AFRICA. FRANCE IS INVOLVED IN
THE FIGHTING IN CHAD, IN WESTERN SAHARA AND MAURETANIA, -
AND NOW FOR THE SECOND TIME IN ZAIRE. THEY ARE OCCUPYING
MAYOTTE IN THE CAMORO ISLANDS; THEY ARE PERMANENTLY BASED
(AND SOMETIMES OPERATING FROM) FOUR OTHER AFRICAN STATES -
TO SAY NOTHING OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE THEY HAVE 'MILITARY
ADVISERS'.

YET OF THIS FRENCH PENETRATION OF AFRICA WE HEAR
NOT A WORD OF COMPLAINT FROM OTHER WESTERN POWERS. INSTEAD
THEY JOIN WITH FRANCE IN EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT THE THREAT
TO AFRICA'S FREEDOM FROM CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION* NOW,
ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, THEY ARE PROPOSING TO CONSULT AFRICA
ABOUT THIS SOVIET DANGER TO AFRICA. BUT ALTHOUGH WESTERN
POWERS HAVE AT LEAST ONE MISSION BETWEEN THEM IN EVERY
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AFRICAN STATE, AND ALTHOUGH THE O.A.U. WILL BE MEETING IN
JULY, THE 'CONSULTATION' IS APPARENTLY CONFINED TO THE
FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICAN STATES, MANY OF WHOM ARE THEMSELVES
- TO SAY THE LEAST - STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY FRANCE.

LET ME PUT THIS VERY BLUNTLY. I REGARD ANY CONFERENCE IN PARIS OR ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE WHICH PURPORTS TO DISCUSS AFRICAN FREEDOM ON BEHALF OF AFRICA AS BEING IN TRUTH A SECOND 'BERLIN CONFERENCE' - A TWENTIETH CENTURY ATTEMPT TO CONFIRM WEST EUROPEAN 'SPHERES OF INFLUENCE' IN AFRICA. (I WOULD HAVE THE SAME ATTITUDE TO ANY SIMILAR CONFERENCE HELD IN MOSCOW). IT WILL NOT BE THE FREEDOM OF AFRICA WHICH IS DISCUSSED; IT WILL BE THE DOMINATION OF AFRICA, AND ITS PREPETUATION BY WESTERN EUROPE UNDER COVER OF THE INDEPENDENT FLAGS OF AFRICAN STATES.

I FIND IT VERY DISTURBING INDEED TO THINK THAT YOUR ADMINISTRATION MIGHT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE INVEIGLED INTO THIS EXERCISE. WE WERE HEARTENED WHEN YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, MADE IT CLEAR THAT AMERICA WAS NO LONGER AUTOMATICALLY GOING TO INTERVENE IN A DISPUTE AS SOON AS SOMEONE SAID THE WORD 'COMMUNIST'. WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE WAY YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAS DEALT WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS ON THE BASIS OF HUMAN EQUALITY AND ANTI-COLONIALISM. I WAS PLEASED THAT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF U.S.A. THE WESTERN POWERS REFRAINED FROM BACKING UP SOMALIA WHEN IT TRIED TO USE ETHIOPIA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO TAKE OVER THE OGADEN. FOR AMERICA NOW TO FOLLOW THE LEADERSHIP OF FRANCE, AND BE A PARTY TO AN 'AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE' SET UP ON FRENCH INITIATIVE AND WITH FRENCH SUPPORT, WOULD BE TO GO INTO REVERSE, AND WOULD GRAVELY ENDANGER THE REPUTATION YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN BUILDING UP AS A GENUINE FRIEND OF AFRICAN FREEDOM.

WHEN I WAS IN WASHINGTON YOU AND I AGREED THAT ANY INDEPENDENT STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO SEEK ASSISTANCE FROM
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ANOTHER COUNTRY OF ITS CHOICE. THAT IS TRUE OF ANGOLA, OF ETHIOPIA, AND OF ZAIRE. BUT WHEN A COUNTRY COMMITTED TO FURTHERING FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS, LIKE THE UNITED STATES UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, IS CONSIDERING ITS RESPONSE TO SUCH A REQUEST IT HAS TO CONSIDER MORE THAN THE POSSIBLE OR ALLEGED ALLIES OF THE GROUP MAKING A THREAT. THERE ARE GOVERNMENTS IN AFRICA WHICH ARE MURDEROUS; THERE ARE GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE VERY CORRUPT. WHEN THE PEOPLES CONCERNED SEEK TO OVERTHROW SUCH GOVERNMENTS, AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE STATUS QUO CANNOT BE AUTOMATIC. IT IS NOT FOR ME TO JUDGE OTHER GOVERNMENTS TOO HARSHLY - I KNOW THE PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA. BUT I DO NOT THINK YOU AND I WOULD GREATLY DISAGREE IN OUR ESTIMATION OF THE CORRUPTION OF THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT; INDEED YOUR GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS UNTIL NOW HAVE INDICATED AMERICA'S CONCERN ABOUT THIS MATTER. IT WOULD NOT BE STRANGE IF THE PEOPLE OF ZAIRE, OR SOME OF THEM, THOUGHT THAT A CHANGE WAS NECESSARY.

WESTERN EUROPE - AND U.S.A. - WANT ACCESS TO AFRICA'S MINERALS AND OTHER RESOURCES. BUT THAT IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SEEKING TO PERPETUATE CORRUPTION OR TO RENEW THE DOMINATION OF AFRICA. AFRICA SELLS ITS MINERALS TO WESTERN COUNTRIES; DESPITE WHAT YOU BELIEVE ABOUT ANGOLA, AND DESPITE AMERICA'S FAILURE TO FOLLOW AFRICA'S UNITED LEAD IN RECOGNISING THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT, ANGOLAN OIL IS SOLD TO U.S.A. AND WESTERN EUROPE. AFRICAN STATES HAVE NO CHOICE IN THIS MATTER, EVEN IF THEY WANTED ONE. WE NEED THE GOODS THE WEST CAN SUPPLY IN EXCHANGE. SO WE CONTINUE TO SELL TO YOU - EVEN WHILE WE HOTLY DISPUTE THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE EXCHANGE*

IF AFRICA, AT THE O.A.U., DECIDED TO SET UP AN AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE, AND TO ASK FOR SUPPORT FROM EXTERNAL SECRET

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POWERS, NO ONE COULD QUESTION THE MOTIVES OF THOSE WHO RESPONDED FAVOURABLY. BUT FOR A EUROPEAN POWER TO MAKE SUCH A PROPOSAL FOR AFRICA IS THE HEIGHT OF ARROGANCE, AND AN INDICATION OF ITS CONTEMPT FOR AFRICA AND AFRICANS. IT IS MY VERY INTENSE HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, WILL REFUSE TO BE A PARTY TO THIS PROPOSAL, TO ANY MODIFIED FORM OF IT, OR TO ANY SO-CALLED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT IT.

MR. PRESIDENT: IT IS THE GREAT RESPECT I HAVE FOR YOU, AND YOUR OWN CONTINUED KINDNESS TO ME, WHICH HAS ENCOURAGED ME TO WRITE SO FRANKLY. I THEREFORE HAVE NO FEAR OF BEING MISUNDERSTOOD WHEN I CONCLUDE THIS LETTER BY EXPRESSING ONCE AGAIN MY PERSONAL GOOD WISHES FOR YOU, AND FOR MRS. CARTER.
YOURS VERY SINCERELY, END TEXT.
WALKER

UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

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